1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

survey of the Baleh area, and although the allocation of territories was under general Governmental surveillance, there seems to have been no formal registration of titles. In the absence of a detailed survey, it is not possible to give accurate figures for the extent of the various long-house territories, but from those which I was able to inspect it seems that they ranged from about five to fifteen square miles.

Principles of Land Tenure among the Iban

45. As already noted the territory allotted to a long-house community is not held in communal ownership, but rather all the *bilek* families of the community have equal rights of access to the land. That is, these rights of access are held in common as against the members of all other long-houses. Actual family ownership is established by the felling of primary jungle (*kampong*), and this is always undertaken by individual *bilek* families. By clearing the virgin forest from a tract of land, a *bilek* family secures full discretionary rights over the secondary jungle (*damun*) which springs up within a few months of the first *padi* harvest, and thereafter, for as long as it remains in the local community, this *bilek* family retains ownership of all land, for the initial cultivation of which it has been responsible. Once land has been acquired in this way it becomes part of the general property of the *bilek*, and is inherited in the same way as are the other valuables of the family. That is, land is inherited by the *bilek* family as such, and all those who remain members of this local group possess parcenary rights in the land which it has acquired. Marrying out of one's natal group involves the relinquishment of these rights, and the assumption of similar interests in one's marital *bilek* family, these circumstances applying both to men and to women.

46. When the partition of a *bilek* family occurs, both sections retain the right to farm land acquired prior to this event. There is thus no formal partition of the land, as there is of the moveable effects of the *bilek*, but rather a joint sharing of rights of access to the secondary jungle that was once common property. The usufruct of this secondary jungle is decided in conference between the two sections of the *bilek* when the occasion arises. In course of time therefore, it is parcelled out for re-use, and in this way each part of the original *bilek* family establishes presumptive tenure of the *damun* land which it puts into cultivation for a second time. However, all virgin jungle felled by either section subsequent to partition is independently owned from the outset.

The Settlement of New Territory

47. When pioneering new territory it is customary for a group of *bilek* families (the number may vary from three or four to more than a dozen) to work side by side. This has many advantages; it means that animal pests are kept under better control, that there is opportunity for the formation of co-operative groups (based on the principle of reciprocity) which make easier the formidable task of felling several acres of primeval rain-forest, and that all the families concerned can live together in a single *dampa*, which, though smaller in scale, is constructed on exactly the same principles as a long-house. The Baleh country is very broken and extremely well watered, with innumerable side spurs rising abruptly to straggling and uneven ridges that vary from several hundred to a thousand feet and more in height. The usual pattern of exploitation is for a group of *bilek* families to begin in the lower reaches of a tributary stream. As far as possible, each *bilek* family selects a separate spur, and commencing at the foot moves up it until the crest of the ridge is reached. The average area of an Iban farm (*umai*) is

between four and five acres, and as it is usual to farm virgin land for two years in succession, a single spur will often keep a *bilek* family occupied for three or more years. Once jungle at the foot of a spur has been felled and farmed, the *bilek* family responsible has presumptive right over the unfelled, primary jungle higher up on the same slope. Land disputes are rare among the Baleh Iban, but of the several cases which did come to my attention, most were concerned with one family 'jumping' another's claim by moving on to the upper slopes of an already occupied spur. In each case the interloper was judged to be in the wrong, and compelled to withdraw.

48. In settling such disputes two main principles are recognized. First, stream beds—however small—are accepted as natural and sacrosant boundaries, and to cross one of these in the face of someone else's prior claim is to flout *adat*. This maxim was well put by Temenggong Koh, in an admonition (which I happened to overhear) to several of the men of his house: "If you quarrel over land," he said, "follow the streams for they were devised by the gods"; ("*Enti kita belaya ka tanah, niteh ka sungai, sigi gaga petara*"). And on several other occasions, I heard this same sanction evoked in the phrase: "The gods fashioned the valleys." ("*Gaga petara lebah*"). This basic principle accepted, the second is that the family whose previously farmed land is nearest to the disputed primary jungle, has prior rights of possession. Or, as the Iban put it: "Whosoever possesses the nearest *padi* stubble owns the land"; ("*Barang damping agi jerami, empu tanah*")[1]. It is by applying these two principles that disputes regarding primary jungle are usually settled.

49. When all of the virgin forest in the lower reaches of a stream has been exhausted, the group of *bilek* families concerned move on en masse towards its headwaters, to fell and farm the immediately adjacent tract of jungle; but once again each *bilek* family—operating as an independent unit—selects a separate spur as the scene of its activities. In this way, the basin of a stream is gradually worked out, so that when all of the virgin jungle has been felled, the whole area has come under the private ownership of a series of different *bilek* families. When this stage has been reached, everyone moves off to another stream to follow the same system, returning to the original site when the secondary jungle (*damun*) there is deemed to have grown to a sufficient size. This may be after a period of from ten to twenty or more years, depending on how much other land is available. Because of this system of gradual advance in groups, the various land-holdings of a *bilek* family are widely dispersed. Indeed, after a period of twenty years or so the territory of a long-house community, with its multiplicity of privately owned sections, resembles a gigantic chequer board. Each of these separate sections varies from about five to ten acres in extent, and seldom, if ever, does any one *bilek* family own more than a dozen acres in a single block. Instead, the individual farm sections of a *bilek* family are scattered piecemeal over the whole of the long-house territory. For example, in 1949, the *bilek* family of Pioh (one of the founders of the present Rumah Nyala), possessed a total of about 150 acres of secondary jungle, divided into some 24 different lots, scattered over an area of between four and five square miles, and situated on the banks of the Sungai Sut and in five of its minor tributaries.

50. The apportionment of virgin land is decided at a general palaver in which

[1]This maxim of customary law is from a judgement given by the late Pengulu Atan, when hearing a land dispute in the Sungai Sut.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

50. The apportionment of virgin land is decided at a general palaver in which all of the senior male members (*tuai bilek*) of the families of the long-house participate. But before this is held most *bilek* families have taken some measure of independent action. As soon as the sowing of one year's crop has been completed, a *bilek* family begins to plan the whereabouts of its farm of the following season, and general farming arrangements are premeditated by about two or three years. On my arrival at Rumah Nyala in 1949, for example, the people announced to me that they intended to take two more crops from the area in which they were then farming, and then return to secondary jungle in the main valley of the Sut; and this in fact is what they did. The process of selecting virgin forest for felling is not, however, highly organized, but rather unplanned and casual, with each *bilek* family acting largely on its own initiative. As already explained, it is usual for a small group of *bilek* families to operate in the same immediate area. After sufficient consultation to ensure that the plans of others are not being wilfully contravened, a *bilek* family declares its intention of farming a certain area, by setting up on it a sign, or *pesindang*, which consists of a notched stick and a cross-piece.

At the same time a small area surrounding this *pesindang* is cleared of undergrowth. Once this has been achieved, every opportunity is taken to acquaint all the other members of the community with what has been done. Where possible the matter is brought up on some semi-formal occasion—such as after a *bedara*, or minor ritual offering, when most of the senior members of the community are assembled on the *ruai* of the long-house. In this way the arrangement receives public recognition. Instances of conflict are rare. Often there is a certain amount of 'jockeying' for position, but once a *bilek* family has established its *pesindang* at the foot of a spur, there is little chance of this fait accompli being abrogated; and thereafter, tenure is governed by the principles already enunciated. Thus several months before a new year's farming begins, the intentions of most of the *bilek* families of the community are generally known.

51. There is however, one occasion in particular for the public discussion of questions of land tenure. This is following the *matak ka burong* ritual (which usually falls sometime in May), when the augur (*tuai burong*) of the community distributes to all *bilek* families desiring them, omen sticks (*kayu burong*), to be used during the initial stages of the new agricultural cycle. As soon as this important ritual has been concluded, a discussion of precise plans for the coming year breaks out. The arrangements of most families are firmly settled by this time, but there are commonly several who have not reached a final decision. In particular, this is the time when requests for the use of another family's secondary jungle (*damun*) are made. All secondary jungle is privately owned by different families, but in most communities there is a certain amount of 'borrowing' and inter-change of *damun*. Thus a family may, for various reasons, want to remain for another year in an area in which its own holdings of secondary jungle are not quite adequate to its needs; in these circumstances, the usual course is to request (*minta*) the temporary use of an adjoining strip of *damun* belonging to someone else. Usually such requests are granted, but there is no change of tenure, only the taking of one season's crop. Reciprocity is the principle governing these transactions; and occasionally a simple inter-change of *damun* is arranged by two *bilek* families. It does sometimes happen however, that rent (*tase damun*) is charged for the usufruct of secondary jungle. But this is a rare occurrence; during my two years in the Baleh, I did not encounter a single instance of rent being paid for *damun*, and according to Iban informants, it

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

427 happens but seldom ("*Jarai, jarai bulih!*"). Furthermore, when rent is paid it is seldom more than one or two dollars. The Iban explanation of the custom is that it is primarily a device for putting pressure on someone who is reluctant to lend his land. When it is seen that a person is parsimonious (*rangka*) of his holdings, the *tase* payment is made simultaneously with a public request for the use of a patch of his *damun*, and in this way, say the Iban, he is shamed into agreement.

52. By and large, the Iban are a strait-handed people, and even between close kin there is sometimes considerable niggardliness over land. I recall an instance of this at the *matak ka burong* ritual held at Rumah Nyala, on 1st May, 1950. After the augur (*tuai burong*) had distributed his omen-sticks, a general discussion on farming arrangements for the coming year began. Among those present were Usah (48 years), and his mother's brother, Gasan (70 years); these two men were of different *bilek* families, but occupied neighbouring apartments in the main long-house. Usah said that he had come to ask Gasan for the use of a patch of secondary jungle (about 2 acres) adjoining the land which he (Usah) was intending to farm during the coming year. Gasan replied that on various occasions in the past, he had been liberal with his *damun*, but that many others in the long-house were not, and that he had now become disinclined to lend his land. There the matter was allowed to stand, no other member of the house making any attempt to intervene on behalf of Usah. It is significant to note that such requests between close kin are broached for the first time in public, and further that each *bilek* family possesses absolute powers over all land acquired by the felling of primary jungle. Thus, if a *bilek* family refuses to grant a request for the loan of secondary jungle, though persuasion is possible, no-one in the community can compel them to alter their decision. Nowhere in the Baleh did I come across farming land (*damun*) that had been bought or sold by Iban.

425 53. A *bilek* family's rights over secondary jungle are not held in unconditional perpetuity however, but only for as long as the family remains a member of the long-house community in whose territory its holdings lie. Thus, when a *bilek* family moves (*mindah*) to a new district and takes up permanent residence there, its old land rights lapse, and are gradually assumed by remaining kindred. In both 1949 and 1950, for example, Ubong (*bilek* No. 19) farmed secondary jungle which had belonged to the *bilek* family of a third cousin, who had left Rumah Nyala, and settled in the Sungai Mujong, about ten years previously. Ubong had not consulted his cousin in any way. In other words, such 'unowned' *damun* is treated as though it were primary jungle, and the first person to re-fell it establishes presumptive rights over its use in future years. In past years it frequently happened that an entire community moved on to occupy new country, and in this event the whole of their former territory was simply abandoned. For example the secondary jungle in the Katibas district, formerly owned by *bilek* families now living in the Baleh, is at present being farmed by subsequent settlers, who are either complete strangers, or only very remotely related to the original 'owners.' So rapid and chequered was the Iban advance in the Kapit District that down river communities often find themselves in possession of secondary jungle, the first fellers of which are not known. I also encountered a number of instances of this in the Sungai Sut. In 1944, a number of *bilek* families from Rumah Nyala moved into the headwaters of a tributary of the Sut, called Sungai Nyunggau. The Sungai Nyunggau belonged, in fact, to a neighbouring long-house, Rumah Ikau, but its people considered the land to be unpropitious. Some years before a leper had been secluded there (this is normal Iban practice),

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

and he had disappeared without reason, no trace ever being found of his body. 425
Because of a fear that malevolent spirits (*antu*) had been responsible, the people of Rumah Ikau shunned the area; they were not willing to give up the Sungai Nyunggau entirely, but they did agree to let certain related *bilek* families of Rumah Nyala make temporary use of the land at its headwaters. This land was partly covered by virgin forest, and partly by secondary jungle of considerable age, called *pengerang*. No one knew to whom this secondary jungle had once belonged, but it was said that it dated from the time of the first Iban occupation of the Sut, at the beginning of the present century. Again, on their first arrival in the Baleh, the Iban found areas of secondary jungle which had resulted from the farming activities of the Lugats. These Lugats (who are closely allied to the Kajang peoples of the upper Rejang), had fled to the Anap, harried by Iban head-hunters. In such cases as these, secondary jungle is treated as though it were primary, and rights of ownership accrue to the first new fellers in the customary way. As we shall presently describe, the haphazard inroads of previous generations into the virgin forests of the Baleh, har resulted in very complex systems of usage.

54. Finally, it should be borne in mind that what has been said about land 311
tenure applies specifically to the Baleh region. From the historical introduction it will have been observed that the Baleh is essentially a pioneer region. In the past, all attempts to confine the Iban have failed; there has always been uninhabited virgin forest on a wide perimeter, and during the past hundred years, at least, the Iban have constantly and relentlessly encroached upon it. An indication of the scope of their advance may be derived from an examination of the life story of Pengulu Temenggong Koh. Koh was born, in about 1870, at Pulau Ensulit, in the headwaters of the Kanyau, a tributary of the Kapuas River, in what was then Dutch territory; here his family had retreated during the first Katibas expedition, of 1869. His boyhood was spent in the Katibas and in the Rejang, below and above Kapit. He is now (1950), farming virgin jungle on the western bank of the Baleh, some five miles above the mouth of the Putai (the former Government boundary), and distant about two hundred miles, by river, from the place of his birth. Over the whole of this distance there stretches a 'trail'—discontinuous and often erratic—of secondary jungle that has resulted from the yearly farm-clearings of Koh's *bilek* family.

55. The fact that virgin forest was in virtually unrestricted supply, resulted in little value being attached to secondary jungle. A *bilek* family was always ready to abandon the *damun* land it had acquired, to settle in a region of untouched *kampong*. Before the advancing Iban there lay thousands of square miles of deserted, or extremely sparsely populated, rain-forest. On their head-hunting forays Iban bands had penetrated into the remote headwaters of the Rejang, Kayan, Mahakam and Kapuas rivers, and the vast extent of the territories which extended before their tribe was well enough known.[1] In these circumstances, it

[1] In passing, it may be noted that Iban head-hunting raids on the Kayans, Kenyahs, Punans, Ukits, and other tribes of the Rejang basin, had more than mere ritual significance. The Iban, as we have seen, were invaders, and in a very real sense they were fighting for the possession of new territory. At first, there was resistance, and in the 1850's the Kayans were strong enough to launch severe attacks on Iban migrants in the Katibas. The great expedition of 1863 was a devastating retribution on all the tribes of the upper Rejang, and in subsequent years the Iban followed up this onslaught by countless fierce raids. Significantly, the Iban not only took heads. Whenever possible, they burnt down enemy long-houses, and cast all the iron implements they could find into a near-by river. In this way they hoped to discourage farming, and compel their enemies to withdraw. To a remarkable extent they

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

The NATIVES *of* BORNEO. Edited from the Papers of the late BROOKE LOW, Esq., by H. LING ROTH.

II. LAND TENURE AND CULTIVATION; HABITATIONS; SLAVES; DRESS, PERSONAL ORNAMENT AND FASHIONABLE DEFORMITY; HUNTING; FISHING; NAVIGATION; WEAPONS AND WAR-DRESS; AGGRESSIVE WARFARE; DEFENSIVE WARFARE, HEADS; CAPTIVES; CANNIBALISM; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND SINGING.

1.—*Land Tenure and Cultivation.*

425 427 178 As regards the tenure by which land is held, it has been the immemorial custom that when a person fells the virgin forest, he acquires by that act a perpetual title to the land. It is his from henceforth to do with as he pleases; he may sell it, or lend it, or let it. The rent he is empowered to demand may not exceed in value a dollar, and must be either a game-cock, or a sucking-pig, or a couple of plates. But as land is rising in value every year, and old jungle is becoming scarcer and scarcer, there is a

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

marked tendency among the tribes to demand a heavier rent—in fact several dollars a year. The tenure, too, has been modified within late years in view of the increasing demand for accommodation, and it is now generally understood that when the proprietor chooses to leave the district and remove into a distant country he forfeits, by so doing, all title to the ground and can no longer exact rent.

Agriculture with the Sea Dyaks is in a very backward condition, but they contrast very favourably with the Malay population in the vicinity. Neither use the plough nor buffalo, but the former cultivate on a more extensive scale and with a more provident idea. They grow, both individually and collectively, far more than they require for their own consumption, and with the residue they purchase necessaries, such as salt, steel, iron, and luxuries, such as personal ornaments, for their families. If the harvest has been really plentiful they are even able to afford to purchase gongs and toddy, and perhaps a jar or two.

As a rule they prefer to cultivate hilly soil, but some few have learnt to utilize the wet land. Their farming operations are regulated by the position in the heavens of the Seven Stars of the Pleiades. They commence business towards the end of the dry season, July and August, so that they have the wet monsoon to bring the paddy to maturity, and the beginning of the following fine weather, April and May, to ripen the grain.

The old jungle is called *kampong*, and the new is called *temuda*. The Dyaks prefer infinitely to farm the former whenever it is to be obtained within reasonable distance of the village, and when it is getting scarce in their immediate neighbourhood they shift their residence nearer to it. In parts of the country more populous than others, it frequently happens that the Dyaks have not in their territory any old jungle; such situations are not so laborious to prepare, but being destitute of the rich layer of vegetable mould and the fertilizing properties of burnt wood, are not nearly so productive. After having felled the old jungle and farmed on it once, they leave it for seven years to grow up again and are then ready to use it a second time. The first year's growth is called *kruah*.

When it is intended to open out new country, the first thing to be done is for every family to select an eligible piece of forest land and to mark out the quantity they wish to cultivate. The next step is to *beburong*, that is to say to consult the omen birds of the tribe to learn whether or no they approve of this choice. For this purpose they erect a hut first in one quarter then in another of the land in question, and wait upon the birds for

the advent of Government control, the situation is changing, for the Iban are now hemmed in by boundaries beyond which slash and burn cultivation is not permitted. In the Baleh area however, a plentiful supply of land still exists, and there is, as yet, no real pressure upon the recently erected boundaries. The re-settlement of the Baleh in 1922 was under general Governmental surveillance, and each long-house community was allotted a roughly defined territory bordering the banks of the main river, or one of its tributaries. But the re-occupation was en masse, by scores of different long-house communities, and there was no system of survey, or legal registration.

136. Territories seem to have range from about five to fifteen square miles, according to the size of the community, and the most favourable sites, at the heads of the rivers, were granted to those who had remained faithful to the Brooke regime during the years of disaffection and rebellion. However, the allotment of a territory did not mean that the members of the community concerned held this land in collective, or communal ownership. What it did mean was that all *bilek-families* had *equal access* to the land. Among the Iban, ownership of land is established by the felling of primary jungle. Thereafter, the land belongs to the *bilek-family* responsible for this first felling, and it has full discretionary rights over the usufruct of the secondary jungle which springs up within a few months of the harvest. These rights are not in perpetuity however. Should a *bilek-family* migrate to another district and take up permanent residence there, its former land rights lapse; they may be assumed by remaining kindred, or if the entire community migrates, simply abandoned.

137. A pioneer community begins then, as a group having common and equal rights of access to a specified tract of virgin forest; year by year its component *bilek-families* establish ownership over different sections of this territory, until finally all of the land is privately owned. At the same time fruit-trees are being planted, and, in some areas, rubber plantations established; these too are privately owned by the *bilek-families* that plant and rear them. A long-house community consists therefore, of a series of *bilek-families* all of which hold in private ownership areas of secondary jungle, fruit trees, and sometimes, rubber plantations, within the confines of a compact territory. This much the *bilek-families* of a long-house do have in common, but farming land is never held in collective ownership.

138. Nor, among the Iban, is there anything resembling a village green (such as the *marae* of Polynesia), which belongs to the community as a whole. Privately owned land approaches to within a few feet of the long-house structure. The only exception is the burial ground, or *pendam*. This invariably consists of a spur rising from the river, on the banks of which the long-house is situated, for corpses are always carried by canoe. The jungle on the chosen spur is left in its primeval state, and never entered except for burials and on ritual occasions. Here, all *bilek-families* inter their dead, and throughout the undergrowth (for graves are left untended) are scattered jars, gongs, and many other kinds of burial property, which constitute the last inheritance of the dead. A burial ground falls into the same category as virgin jungle, over it there are no rights of ownership, but to it all *bilek-families* have full and equal rights of access. Occasionally it happens that two neighbouring long-houses share the same *pendam*, but in general, each community has its own site, where the bodies of those who once lived together lie buried.

139. We have seen that among the Iban the *bilek-family* is the basic land-owning group. This also applies to all other forms of property. Thus the long-house structure itself is made up of a series of separate apartments, each of which is privately owned. The only exception is the *tangga*—a huge log of hardwood, adzed to shape and deeply notched at regular intervals to form a ladder by way of which entry may be gained to the elevated *tanju* of the long-house. Often, they are about 20 feet in length, and weigh hundreds of pounds; sometimes, several *tangga*, connected by small stagings, are required. In the Baleh, *tangga* always lead on to the open *tanju*—either in the front of the house, or at the ends. They are spaced out at even intervals, and in most long-houses there is one entrance to about every seven *bileks*. In Rumah Nyala, for example, with 22 actual apartments, there were three entrances (c.f. Figure 2), while Rumah Tungku, with 45 apartments, had eight, and Rumah Sibat, with 29 apartments, four entrances.

140. The making of a *tangga*, transporting it back to the long-house, and then erecting it, complete with railings, is no light task. Usually it is undertaken by the men of the small group of *bilek-families*, whose regular way of entry it will become. But if it be the main *tangga* of the long-house (i.e. the first entrance to be constructed by the founding families), all the men of the long-house join in the work. This is mainly for ritual reasons. The main *tangga* is looked upon as a kind of portal connecting the long-house with the outside world; by this route both good and evil may come to the inhabitants, but by proper ritual performances, it is possible, say the Iban, to consecrate the *tangga* so that it will become a ladder by way of which riches and good fortune are carried up into their house. Understandably, all *bilek-families* are eager to join in the ceremony, and enjoy the benefits it brings. In the full scale rites, various of the gods (*petara*) are summoned, in a chanted invocation (*timang*), to visit the long-house, and on their arrival, offerings are made and sacrifices performed. In the *timang* the attributes and the actions of the gods are described. With them they have brought a marvellous *tangga*, which has the power to attract to the long-house all that men desire. It cannot be seen, of course, for it is in the form of soul-stuff, but as the gods erect it, the Iban put their newly hewn *tangga* in place, and the substances of the two become magically fused. Further offerings and sacrifices are made, prayers of consecration uttered, and the ceremony is concluded. Such a *gawai tangga* is usually organized by the *tuai burong* (augur), but the materials used in the offerings (e.g. *tuak*, eggs, rice, etc.) are supplied in equal proportions by all the *bilek-families* of the long-house. It is thus a corporate rite, involving the whole community, and the *tangga* is the common property of all those who participated.

Employment in the timber trade has greatly increased the buying power of both indigenes and Chinese who have in turn passed their resources on to Sibu shopkeepers.[35]

In addition to employment, Ibans have benefitted from concessions paid by timber companies for rights to fell "communal forests" (SG 31 August, 1953). Gifts, in the form of drinks and money (kantau), are made to the tuai rumah and through him to the tuai bilik. When agreement on terms is reached, the tuai rumah involved will present the request on behalf of the company - and at the expense of the company[36] - to Government for a logging permit, and the money paid by the company will be divided between the pengulu, tuai rumah and tuai bilik.[37]

A fourth factor in the development of Sibu as related to the timber industry has been the investment of local people in residences and the booming construction industry. The expansion of the timber industry has gone hand-in-glove with the building trade in Sibu's rise to affluence,[38] and again must be seen in perspective of the political

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

[35] An increasing number of Ibans are opening savings accounts in the Sibu banks. For example, a leading bank handles an estimated 3,000 savings accounts for Ibans.

[36] In but one instance, two tuai rumah flew to Kuching and were given M$200 belanja luar ("pocket-money") by the company on whose behalf they were requesting a permit.

[37] According to a reliable informant, of every ten dollars, six goes to the pengulu, two to the tuai rumah, and the remainder is divided among the tuai bilik equally.

[38] According to a statement published in the Borneo Bulletin, 8 May, 1971, p. 23, a Sibu insurance agent places the number of millionaires in Sibu at "about 100," with 10 multi-millionaires, the wealth in almost every case coming form timber, building, or land.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

177 Another incident of economic cooperation between Chinese and
425 Ibans occurs when the latter purchase land in the Native Area on behalf of their towkay or friend. For example, in one case with which I am acquainted, an Iban has bought five lots of land in his own name but with money provided by a Chinese friend. It is quite illegal for the Chinese to hold land in the Native Area, but through this subterfuge based upon trust between the two men, it has been carried out.

177 At the time of gawai and other events of moment, Chinese friends often are invited as guests, and they in turn reciprocate when they hold feasts. For instance, at the time of Gawai Dayak ("Dayak Festival Day," June 1), Chinese may be seen visiting longhouses and bringing with them gifts of cream crackers, drinks and other foodstuffs. When a Chinese family gives a feast on the occasion of a birthday or wedding, Ibans may be invited, depending upon the relations between the persons involved.

The other ethnic group which has important economic relations with the Iban, and about whom we have written but obliquely, is the [829] orang putih (Caucasians, principally British and Americans). From the time of James Brooke until the present, a vast majority of Ibans have looked upon the orang putih as representatives of the most technologically developed societies in the world, holders of vast riches. And the attitudes and actions of many orang putih have done little to

175
423
657

In the Second Rajah's attempt to resolve the land disputes, he set aside land on both sides of the Rejang for a distance of twelve miles below Sibu for Chinese settlers, requiring all non-Chinese to move immediately from the area. Describing this action by the Rajah, James Hoover wrote:

> "From the very beginning land disputes arose between the colonists and the natives so that something had to be done to define the boundaries of the colony. On one of the late Rajah's (Charles Brooke) visits he called into the local fort (Sibu) the head men of the Chinese, Malays, and Dayaks, and said to them: 'This colony is here. We will not discuss whether it is a good thing or not, but since it is here, and there is abundant land for everybody in this district, I am going to set aside certain areas for the Foochows, out of which they will not be allowed to settle, and into which no others will be allowed to go. All Dayaks, Malays and others now living in this area must move out at once.' He then had a large map hung on the wall, and he himself with a blue pencil marked points on the river bank showing the extent of the grants."

The Rajah's designation of certain areas for Chinese in no way solved the problems, and complaints of their encroachments onto in- [425] digenes' lands continued. His conviction that drawing out lines of settlement would keep the groups apart was naive, for it did not reckon with the Chinese farmers' desire for more land, or with the indigenes' willingness to sell any and all land if the price seemed right to them. A further practical problem was that no means existed for adequate supervision of the settlements of the Chinese immigrants and their cultivation, so that Government had no way of knowing whether they trespassed onto